INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

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Control: 10146
Rec'd: July 23, 1954 11:54 a. m.

FROM: Mexico City

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 90, July 22, 6 p. m.

PRIORITY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
JUL 23 1954
Copy handed to AmEmb Guatemala
file jmf

Discussed matter dispersion Guatemalan Communist asylees with Foreign Minister last night. I emphasized strongly seriousness of sending these people to other countries and thereby strengthening the local Communist Parties and that that is of grave concern and that this situation is quite different from the traditional political refugee problem and is contrary to inter-American resolutions opposing travel of Communist agents and fails to take into account the international Communist problem.

The Minister said this whole problem is cause of great concern to the Mexican Government and that they do not want these refugees here. Some have been insistent and have urged the Mexican Government three times to take in their refugees and they have told them they would positively take in none who are not in the Mexican Embassy and that in view of their very special problem as a border nation they would expect some of the other countries to help them out in taking over some of the refugees in the Mexican Embassy. MYTEL 85 of July 21. Minister confirmed that Argentina was one of the countries asking Mexico to take over their refugees.

I again emphasized to the Minister that sending these refugees to other countries in America is contributing to the strengthening of the Communist Parties in those countries and that unlike political refugees in the recurrent cases in the past, these people will not only work against the new government in Guatemala but will at once line themselves up with the local Communist Parties and work against the interest of the host country. I maintained that they could not be considered as Guatemalan political refugees because their allegiance is to Moscow. While this reasoning and the representations regarding violation of inter-American resolutions opposing travel of Communist agents seemed an entirely new thought to the Minister and to give him cause for pause and reflection, he made no comment other than that Mexico would be guided in this whole matter strictly by the Montevideo and Habana conventions on asylum and the convention, not yet ratified by anyone, which was signed at Caracas last March and also that Mexico would definitely take in no refugees except those physically in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala.

The Mexican Government

714.00/7-2254

SECRET FILE

FILED JUL 23 1954

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

SECRET

7-27-54, 3:27 p.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 2 LMS/MS

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-2- 90, July 22, 6 p.m., from Mexico City Cn., 10146

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The Mexican Government feels that it is bound to ask for safe conduct for political refugees in the Embassy and sent a list of all refugees to the Guatemalan Government as soon as they recognized that government last week. There has been no reply or comment as yet from the Guatemalan Government.

I sounded him out on Cruzwer and Rosenberg. He said that any who come into Mexico not having been in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala are what he termed territorial refugees and did not come under the Foreign Office but under Gobernacion. He said that he did not know whether Gobernacion knew the whereabouts of these two men or not. When I came back to the subject later in the conversation, he made some reference to the Secretary of Gobernacion having said he could pick these men up any time he wanted to. I referred to the report that they wished to go to Argentina and he denied any knowledge regarding it, while putting the entire responsibility of the matter on Gobernacion. He gave the impression that they would be very chary about letting them go anywhere else if it seems likely that their extradition would be asked for. In this connection I handed the Minister two sets of photographs brought to me from Guatemala by an American newspaperman revealing the atrocities committed there. I asked him to send one set to the President and he promised to do so.

Padilla Nervo said that there are 318 being given asylum in the Mexican Embassy and that of these some 80 or 90 are women and children. He expects that safe conducts will not be given to Communists or any who have committed crimes; any whose extradition is asked for by Guatemala who are physically in Mexico, the matter will go through judicial channels. Those charged with crime who are in Guatemala will, he said, be turned back to Guatemalan authorities upon proof presented of their guilt. He admitted that there are Communist Party members who are in the Embassy and others whom he characterized as bona fide political refugees not members of the Communist Party. I stressed that many were carrying out Communist policy without being party members and perhaps were not party members on purpose in order better to carry out Communist policy. The Minister admitted that this is undoubtedly true but gave no indication whether they would be treated differently or whether Communist Party members would be surrendered to the Guatemalan authorities without proof of having committed some crime. He emphasized to me that the whole matter is causing the government a great deal of concern and study and that they would like not to have any whatsoever come into Mexico on account of the border relationship. They feel that they are obligated by conventions, however, to ask for safe conducts and any who are granted safe conduct and come to Mexico will, he repeated, be subjected to far stricter surveillance than in the case of many political refugees here from other countries. He said they will be kept under surveillance far from the frontier of Guatemala and not allowed to go anywhere near there, nor will they be permitted to engage in political activities or make press statements or

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-3-#90, July 22, 6 p. m., from Mexico City

statements or propaganda.

I emphasized to him again that many of the Communists will find ways of getting in cor[illegible]t with the local Communist and work with them. The Minis[illegible]eemed to feel that they could handle that by the security r[illegible]s they will take.

I then alluded to the report that Arbenz might endeavor to set up a government-in-exile. The Minister at once said that Arbenz is a very weak character without much force or initiative who had been pretty much of a puppet of others and that he felt that all Arbenz wanted was to drop out of sight and be forgotten.

WHITE

SW:HEK/1

Note: Mr. Belton (MID) notified 4 p.m., 7/23/CWO-JRL

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FILED
JUL 23 1954

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

CORRECTION 7/28/54 11 a.m.

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Action
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Control: 10146
Rec'd: July 23, 1954
11:54 a.m.

FROM: Mexico City

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 90, July 22, 6 p.m.

This SECRET message was also repeated GUATEMALA 3.

LAW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
JUL 28 1954

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714.00/7-1954

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

BUREAU OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
JUL 23 1954

FROM: AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO: THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

18
DESP. NO.

July 19, 1954.
DATE

REF: DEPCIRTEL 32, July 12, 1954.

For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	AKH-4 7/22	INFO CC/R-2 OLI-6 P-1 ARA/OC-1 R-1 CIA-7 OCB-1 USIA-10

SUBJECT: Organizations and Individuals Publicly Identified with Arbenz Regime.

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714.00/7-1954

On the whole, direct public expressions of support for the Arbenz regime have been limited. The tactics followed in El Salvador were direct condemnation of Somoza and United States assistance to him with consequent indirect support of the Guatemalan Government.

Indirect Support of Guatemalan Government

A particular example of this type of reverse support is seen in enclosure no. 1 to this despatch, a copy of an open letter to the presidents of the Central American Republics except Nicaragua. The letter is signed by a wide variety of persons, many of whom are genuinely anti-Somoza while others, such as Carmen Vilanova de ALFARO, an aunt of Mrs. Arbenz, undoubtedly signed because of the indirect and semi-veiled defense of Guatemala such as "The foreign news and press services, especially those which use an English which recalls the statements of Coolidge and Hoover, directed their batteries toward Central America endeavoring to make it appear a veritable field of Agramante of extra-continental interests." And "We believe one must be blind not to see that Central America is being assaulted on several sides. While the opinion which the United States is endeavoring to create in the international field refers only to the existence of communist affiliates in Central America, this term is abused to excommunicate before the Holy Office of the modern Rome the inter-Central American popular movement which repudiates tyrannies, economic colonialism of the large consortiums, such as the United Fruit Co. which has even dared to direct the destinies of certain countries ..." "These dangers are found above all in the aggressiveness of the foreign consortiums and in the already mentioned survival of the dictatorial and despotic regime of Somoza in Nicaragua who has received from the Department of State of the United States the accolade of representative of North American democracy in a so-called fight against communism."

As can be seen from an examination of the names of the persons who signed this letter, many of them are Nicaraguan exiles; others, however, such as Carmen Vilanova de Alfaro, Rodolfo COLOCHO Morales, president of the Law Students' Association, Mario FLORES Macall, René FORTÍN Magaña, president of the General Association of Salvadoran University Students (AGEUS), José MADRIZ Y COBOS (Nicaraguan), Alberto ORDOÑEZ Arguello (Nicaraguan), and Danilo A. VELADO, while in some cases Nicaraguans, are also pro-communist and/or unfriendly towards the United States.

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7/19/54

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RECEIVED
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Automobile Chauffeurs' Union

The Sindicato Gremial de Pilotos Automovilistas de El Salvador, to which President OSORIO referred as communist during a recent conversation, adopted a resolution published in the Diario de Hoy on May 29, 1953, ostensibly in support of the "neutral" policies of the Salvadoran Government. However, in view of a lack of any specific condemnation of communist intervention, portions of the resolution such as "That we condemn any maneuver of a foreign origin which endeavors to convert Central America into a theatre of discord to satisfy foreign interests ..." and "That as faithful defenders of the democratic principles we once more energetically repudiate any tactic or maneuver which can drag down Central America into warlike adventures and which can give rise to any foreign intervention, offensive to our Central American dignity and that in any circumstance, even at the cost of our lives, we will combat without rest and by all possible means any unlawful intervention by foreign powers in our Central American territory", are without doubt in defense of Guatemala.

The full text of this resolution is being forwarded as enclosure no. 2 to this despatch. Despite its apparent patriotic support of the Salvadoran Government it is, given the circumstances existing at the time of its adoption, nothing more than a threat against "intervention" by any other country in Guatemalan affairs. No mention of the Soviet Union was necessary as the group, like many others elsewhere, looked upon communism in Guatemala as a local phenomena.

Liga Feminina Salvadoreña

President Osorio, in a conversation on June 23, said he had received a message of support from the Liga Feminina Salvadoreña, an organization which he classed as communist. It is perhaps interesting that Carmen Vilanova de Alfaro is also a member of the Liga, as is Rosa Amelia Guzman de ARANGO who also signed the open letter to the Central American Presidents.

General Association of Salvadoran University Students

The AGEUS, the local association of university students, has for many years been under communist influence. On June 24, 1954 it adopted a resolution giving "a vote of solidarity and support to the people and university student body of Guatemala in the fight against the intervention and aggression to which the territory of Guatemala has been the object" and "Raise the Guatemalan flag over the university building as a symbolic gesture of solidarity with the people of Guatemala in their struggle to maintain their territorial integrity and their sovereignty".

On June 25 the students held a demonstration in support of Guatemala which was addressed by Luis Rodolfo MOLINA, René Fortín Magaña and Lionel CARÍAS Delgado (Secretary General of the AGEUS), Joaquín HERNANDEZ Callejas and Rodrigo Antonio VELASQUEZ Gomero.

It was subsequently learned that the orderly nature of the students' demonstration may well have been due to the fact that President Osorio sent a message warning that if they overstepped the line, he would give them a chance to fight

for their ideas by deporting them to Guatemala.

Felipe Antonio LOPEZ R.

On July 12 Patria Nueva published the text of a letter dated June 28, 1954 from a certain Felipe Antonio Lopez R. He said in part: "Ever since Hitler said that to make a lie the truth it must be repeated a million times and established his Ministry of Lies no one is safe from finding himself the victim of a calumny and Guatemala is the victim of the most vile calumny that is known, a preparatory phase to armed intervention; every type of lie was heaped upon it and its government men called red. Why? Because the policies of social improvement of the government conflicted with the economic interests of the foreign companies and in a shameful conspiracy they planned the present crisis with the direct intervention of the Department of State which defends the shares of Foster Dulles and Cabot Lodge in the Fruit Company." In a footnote Mr. Lopez added "The surrender of Arbenz and the fall of Guatemala do not change my opinions whatsoever."

This letter has resulted in a series of editorials critical of Lopez and in further defense of the Arbenz regime from him. A Foreign Office official has informed the Embassy that Lopez is not a communist; that he is a man of considerable wealth who sought refuge in Guatemala during the time of Osmin AGUIRRE and cannot realize that conditions changed from those of the early years of AREVALO; and that he is completely paralyzed below the waist as a result of poliomyelitis.

Guatemalan Embassy

The Guatemalan Ambassador formerly assigned here, Miguel Angel ASTURIAS, is of course well known to the Department. He was a vociferous defender of his government. The secretaries of the Embassy, Ricardo JUAREZ Márquez and Carlos Eduardo PANIAGUA España appear not to have taken an active part in Guatemalan political matters. The Military Attaché, Col. Marco Antonio VARGAS A., has now been assigned to Costa Rica. While regarded with suspicion by the Salvadoran military, the Embassy does not have any evidence that he publicly supported the Arbenz regime except to the extent natural to his position.

For the Ambassador:

Andrew E. Donovan II
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosures:

1. Newspaper clipping containing text of open letter to Central American Presidents (single copy);
2. Newspaper clipping, Diario de Hoy, May 29, 1954, containing text of resolution adopted by Automobile Chauffeurs' Union (single copy).

cc: Embassy, Guatemala;
MID.

(Enclosure no. 2 to San Salvador's despatch no. 18, 7/19/54)

(From Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, May 29, 1954)

Pilotos Automovilistas Apoyan al Pdente. Osorio

El Sindicato Gremial de Pilotos Automovilistas de El Salvador, en vista de los movimientos políticos y sociales que en las últimas semanas conmueven a Centro América, y conscientes del papel que corresponde a los trabajadores organizados de un país democrático, DECLARA: 1o.) Que como trabajadores auténticos aspiramos a que todos los pueblos hermanos de Centro América obtengan tranquilidad política y social, con base en normas justas que garanticen una paz perdurable entre los pueblos y los estados Centroamericanos.

2o.) Que condenamos enérgicamente maniobra de origen extranjero q' intente convertir a Centro América en teatro de discordias para satisfacción de intereses extranjeros; y que daremos todo el concurso q' esté a nuestro alcance para que se mantenga, o restablezca, la paz y la tranquilidad.

3º) Que como fieles defensores de los principios democráticos, repudiamos enérgicamente una vez más, cualquier táctica o maniobra que pueda hundir a Centro América en aventuras de guerra y que puedan originar cualquier intervención extraña, ofensiva a nuestra dignidad Centroamericana; y que en cualquier circunstancia pública a

(Pasa a la Página 23)

PILOTOS

(Viene de la Página 3)

costa de nuestras vidas, combatiremos sin descanso y por cualquier medio, cualquiera intervención inspirada de potencias extranjeras, en nuestro territorio Centroamericano.

4º) Que reconocemos que uno de los bienes más preciosos de que gozamos actualmente, es la tranquilidad pública salvadoreña, por lo cual pedimos y exigimos a nuestros compañeros trabajadores, que se mantengan alerta para mantener esta tranquilidad, con el objeto de hacer frente a cualquier situación adversa, con toda cordura y serenidad, y con toda energía que el caso demandare. Este objetivo, esencial para el futuro del pueblo salvadoreño, demanda de parte de los trabajadores y de los patronos de nuestra patria, que depongan cualquier actitud de violencia y cualquier perjuicio que pudiere existir entre los sectores del Capital y del Trabajo, en la solución de las inevitables diferencias que en las relaciones diarias se provocan.

5º) Pedimos a los trabajadores organizados y no organizados, de la ciudad y del campo, que se mantengan atentos y serenos ante los peligros que pudieran cernirse en Centroamérica, con el objeto de no servir bajo ninguna circunstancia de instrumentos de la reacción y de los intereses extraños a nuestra patria.

6º) Con base en todo lo anterior y por los motivos expuestos, damos un voto de confianza y de cohesión al actual Gobierno, porque creemos que en medio de la tormenta Centroamérica, ha sabido llevar a la República en el rumbo que le conviene al pueblo. Y si llegare el momento, que no lo deseamos, que la paz salvadoreña sea alterada, como trabajadores organizados y como ciudadanos salvadoreños, estaremos prestos a defender la patria por los medios que considere convenientes el actual Gobierno de la República. POR EL SINDICATO GREMIAL DE PILOTOS AUTOMOVILISTAS DE EL SALVADOR.— POR EL COMITE EJECUTIVO GENERAL. — POR EL COMITE EJECUTIVO SECCIONAL DEL CENTRO — POR EL COMITE EJECUTIVO DE LA ZONA DE OCCIDENTAL. — POR LA UNIDAD DE TRABAJADORES SALVADOREÑOS.

— 4 — EL DIA, Lunes 5 de Julio de 1954

MENSAJE DE CENTROAMERICANOS EN EL SALVADOR A PRESIDENTES DE CENTROAMERICA

San Salvador, Centroamérica, junio de 1954.

Señores Presidentes de las Repúblicas de El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras y Costa Rica,

Coronel Oscar Osorio,
Coronel Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán,
Doctor Juan Manuel Galvez,
Don Jose Figueres Ferrer.

Señores Presidentes:

En nuestra condición de ciudadanos centroamericanos, venimos ante vosotros a manifestar nuestra preocupacion por las inquietantes interrogaciones que nos hacemos en vista de la actual situacion histórica que se plantea en Centroamerica.

Diez años hace, a lo largo de las conmociones liberadoras de 1944, que los pueblos del istmo vislumbraron la posibilidad de romper para siempre las pesadas cadenas de las tiranias, y construir una nueva era de fraternidad y consolidacion de las instituciones republicanas y democraticas en el viejo solar de nuestros mayores. Pero extrañas influencias al devenir sociopolitico centroamericano, —las mismas que impusieron a la soberania de los Estados de Centroamérica las atropellantes bases del tratado canalero Bryan-Chamorro de 1914—, lograron consolidar en el gobierno de Nicaragua al reducto de ese pasado ignominioso, representado en el despotismo de Anastasio Somoza, heredero de la funesta intervencion norteamericana de 1928. Si se analiza sociologicamente el hecho de esa supervivencia perturbadora sobre los destinos de los cinco paises que integran Centroamérica, llegaremos a la conclusion de que el regimen de Somoza en Nicaragua, fuera de significar la exclusion de un pueblo dentro de la libre convivencia democratica de la familia centroamericana, ha retardado la culminacion de los esfuerzos orientados a solucionar nuestros problemas comunes en transito hacia la reconquista de nuestra perdida unidad federal.

Las agencias noticiosas y la prensa extranjera, especialmente aquéllas que usan un ingles que recuerda los pronunciamientos de Coolidge y de Hoover, emplazan sus baterias hacia Centroamerica tratando de hacerla aparecer como un campo de Agramante de los intereses extracontinentales. En un sentido estrictamente ideologico, en Centroamerica hay sectores que recurren a corrientes filosóficas y socioeconomicas extrañas a nuestra realidad vernácula,—entre ellas las comunistas, fascistas y falangistas. Pero el problema medular que contemplamos es la necesidad de que las instituciones republicanas y democraticas, tipicas de la estructura pregonada por los proceres que nos han legado la mejor tradicion americana, tengan vigencia. Es, por lo tanto, un problema de SER O NO SER. O somos pueblos que forman parte de naciones con enjundia democratica, capaces de autodeterminar sus destinos y de velar por la preservación de sus instituciones, o estaremos siempre sujetos al capricho de las posturas de los colosos internacionales que han visto siempre en nuestros paises zonas de influencia politica, económica y estratégica. Inglaterra hasta el siglo XIX, hoy todavia detentando el territorio guatemalteco de Belice; y la intervencion politica de los gobiernos de los Estados Unidos, apenas mengUada por la politica del Buen Vecino sustentada por Roosevelt, la cual parece estar en los ultimos estertores, colocan a Centroamérica en el imperativo de unificar sus fuerzas espirituales y morales a fin de sortear los inminentes peligros que ahora nos amenazan.

Estimamos que se necesitaria estar ciegos para no ver que Centroamérica se encuentra acometida por diferentes flancos. Mientras la opinion que pretenden crear los Estados Unidos en el plano internacional, unicamente se refiere a la existencia de afiliados comunistas en Centroamerica, se abusa de ese término para excomulgar ante el Santo Oficio de la moderna Roma, al movimiento popular intercentroamericano que repudia las tiranias, el colonialismo económico de los grandes consorcios, como la United Fruit Co. que ha osado hasta dirigir los destinos de determinados paises, y toda actitud de independencia que tienda a fortalecer nuestras pequeñas nacionalidades. Estamos actualmente tan acosados como hace medio siglo y no contamos con otra alternativa que la de luchar, afirmandonos en nosotros mismos, por el afianzamiento en el alma de nuestros paises de una democracia real y efectiva de contenido social, politico y económico, digna de la aspiracion libertaria y legitimamente americana de los Bolivar, los Jefferson, los Morazán, los Sarmiento, los Juarez y los Marti. La única solución, en consecuencia, es levantar el nuevo concepto patriótico dirigido hacia la reivindicacion de nuestros mestizajes, convocados bajo la consigna de "Centroamérica para los centroamericanos".

Estos peligros se concretan, ante todo, en la agresividad de los consorcios extranjeros y en la mencionada supervivencia del régimen dictatorial y despótico de Somoza en Nicaragua, quien ha recibido del Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos el espaldarazo de representante de la democracia norteamericana en una pretendida lucha contra el comunismo. Ese regimen oprobioso, que armas norteamericanas se afanan en sostener en su podrido andamiaje, al constituir la antitesis de lo que podria proclamarse como defensa de la democracia en esta mitad del hemisferio, mas bien ofrece una objetiva invitación para que el extremismo ideologico prolifere en Nicaragua y más allá de sus fronteras. Pero el peligro no termina ahí, sino que, gallardeando de dirigente de la politica anticomunista de Centroamérica, ha querido afrentar la democracia de su vecina Costa Rica y precipitar sus pasos con el objeto de promover una conflagración centroamericana.

En vista de recientes sucesos, señalamos, pues, ante vosotros, Gobernantes de Centroamérica, el deber en que estáis de enfrentar con patriotismo y habilidad la dificil situación por que atravesamos, seguros, sin embargo, de que vuestros pueblos os respaldarán en toda decisión que tomeis en conjunto, propendiendo a superar los peligros y acechanzas que nos amenazan. Haceos dignos de la gratitud imperecedera del pueblo centroamericano en esta hora crucial de sus destinos. No permitáis, en forma alguna, que seamos carne de cañón para los intereses extranjeros. Aun es tiempo de salvar a Centroamérica y de ordenar nuestra vida común, inspirando nuestros actos de hoy en esos cuatro grandes arquetipos de la centroamericanidad, bajo cuyos ejemplos y palabras podriamos modelar un futuro digno para nuestros hijos y nuestros nietos. Nos referimos a las próceres figuras de Francisco Morazán, Rubén Darío, Alberto Masferrer y Augusto César Sandino. Ellos representan la verdadera Centroamérica en el sentido de su Unidad, su Cultura, su Liberación Económica y su bizarra Soberania e Independencia.

Con el pensamiento puesto en Dios y nuestra fe inquebrantable en los más altos designios de Centroamérica, nos suscribimos respetuosamente.

LISTA DE PERSONAS QUE SUSCRIBEN POR ORDEN ALFABETICO:

MANUEL AGUILAR CHAVEZ, periodista y escritor. A. ALDANA, reportero. CARMEN VILANOVA DE ALFARO, Delegada a la Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres. CAPITAN JULIO C. ALONSO, exmiembro de la Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua, en exilio. ROSA AMPLIA GUZMAN DE ARAUJO, comentarista de la radio, Presidente de la Organización Cívica de Mujeres Salvadoreñas. NARCISO ARGUELLO, Secretario General del Comité Nacional del "ATLAS", asociación de trabajadores latinoamericanos. MARIA DE BARATTA, destacada investigadora del folklore salvadoreño, Presidente de la Sección Cultural de la "Union Femenina Iberoamericana". TENIENTE NOEL BERMUDEZ ex miembro de la Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua, en exilio. MANUEL A. BORJA, caficultor, miembro de la "Asociación Cafetalera de El Salvador". PROFESOR SALVADOR CARAS, escritor y miembro del magisterio salvadoreño. CAPITAN MARIO CARRERA, experto en asuntos económicos y miembro del Ejército Nacional de Guatemala. TOMAS CASTILLO HIJO, nicaragüense, agente de bienes raices. DR. RAUL CASTRO W., abogado, liberal independiente nicara-

(Pasa a la Pág. 10)

Confidential File

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